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ABSTRACT

This report of a conference on "Desegration without Turmoil" describes the community organization and public information efforts that preceded the implementation of government ordered school integration in cities where this transition was accomplished peacefully. It is the position of the participants in the conference that peaceful desegration in such communities, e.g., Detroit, Memphis, and Prince George's County, Maryland, could be directly attributed to these efforts. In cities where there was turmoil, the report maintains, the communities themselves were at fault, failing to adequately prepare the parents and children for the desegration process. The first part of this report describes the forming of coalitions, the participation of various community sectors, and the activities undertaken to facilitate peaceful integration. The second part of the report consists of the conference program schedule, texts of conference speeches by Ben Holman and George Meany, and an extensive list of individual and organizational resources on desegration. (Author/GC)

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DESEGREGATION WITHOUT TURMOIL

The Role of the Multi-Racial Community Coalition in Preparing for Smooth Transition

An Experience Guide Based on a National Conference Co-Sponsored by:

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
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and

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Foreword

Leaders of community groups and coalitions are making *Desegregation Without Turmoil* a reality in many cities across the United States. And it can become a reality in many more, if other communities would utilize the experiences of those who have worked to peacefully desegregate their schools. The National Center for Quality Integrated Education and the Community Relations Service of the United States Department of Justice convened on May 19, 1976, a national conference on Desegregation Without Turmoil to discuss and analyze the nation's desegregation efforts.

This report has been prepared as a service to community organizations which may want to review the experience of others as they prepare their own towns or cities for the desegregation process. It was written by Ms. Elinor Hart who drew on the proceedings of the conference, as well as on other experiences and documents cited there.

Ben Holman
Director
Community Relations Service
U.S. Department of Justice

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Director
National Center for Quality
Integrated Education

Introduction

Desegregation Without Turmoil is a story of citizen coalitions organizing and leading their communities through peaceful desegregation processes. It is based on the experience, knowledge and insight of people who attended "A National Conference on Desegregation Without Turmoil: The Community's Role in Preparing for Smooth Transition."

Conference Participants

The 572 conferees* who gathered at the National Education Association in Washington, D.C., on May 19, 1976, represented 89 communities from 35 states and the District of Columbia; 68 national non-profit groups; 23 international unions and central labor councils; 16 Federal governmental divisions, agencies, commissions, and offices; 15 national corporations; and 10 Chambers of Commerce.

Participants included those who had experienced the agony of confrontation in Boston and Louisville as well as those who had known the satisfaction of successful cooperation in Detroit and Memphis.

*The list of conferees is available from the Community Relations Service, U.S. Department of Justice and the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Conference Challenge

Ben Holman, Director of the Community Relations Service, declared in his keynote address that the community group's authority must be self-determined. "Your authority derives from an old American tradition of citizen responsibility and initiative," he explained. "This self-investiture comes with the realization that desegregation is too important to be left alone to the school board, the police chief, the mayor and the council. They need your help whether they know it or not. Let them have it whether they seek it or not." And George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, in a filmed statement prepared especially for the conference, blamed the problems of Boston and Louisville on the *communities* themselves: "It's the communities that failed in their obligation... to adequately prepare the people—the parents and the children—for the task of living up to the law of the land. As a result, fear—and the anger that fear begets—swept those cities. Opportunists and demagogues who flourish on disorder rushed to the soap boxes, and we all know the results."

Yet as Meany reminded the conferees, "There is an honor roll of cities that have succeeded in ending discrimination in the schools without public disorder." According to him, "Nothing... is more important than to study their case histories, analyze their experiences and try to apply it to other cities that are not yet in compliance with the Brown Decision of 1954 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

Dorothy Height—Conference Chairperson, President of the National Council of Negro Women and Director of the Center for Racial Justice, National Board of the YWCA—also emphasized the value of knowing about the experience of others: "One of the things that all of us have learned in the struggle for equality and justice is that we... have to have examples of how other people have worked and how they have dealt with bringing about the goals of desegregation without turmoil so as to give us some sense of direction."

An Overview of Successful Efforts

Detroit, Michigan is one city that brought itself honor by peacefully desegregating its schools. And leaders there agree—it was no easy task.

In 1970, during an overwhelmingly angry election campaign, every school board member who had voted for desegregation was recalled. Yet in January, 1976, over 20,000 children were bused for desegregation purposes and not a rock was thrown.

Detroit's success "did not happen by accident," insists Joseph Radelet, Associate Director of the Detroit Round Table of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. "By the time January 1976 came," he explains, "there

were thousands of volunteers involved in the effort toward peaceful implementation—volunteers at bus stops, in school halls, at key corners, in cafeterias, at the Information Center."

William H. O'Brien, former co-chairperson of PRO Detroit and another person having extensive, first-hand experience in the city, agreed with Mr. Radelet:

"Detroit did not passively wait for events to happen. Instead community leaders launched the programs to win peaceful acceptance of busing. The plan involved the broadest spectrum of Detroit life—community people; parents; teachers; students; business; labor; political and religious leaders; the news media; and everybody with a stake in the well-being of Detroit and its school children."

Memphis, Tennessee...The achievement of IMPACT—Involved Memphis Parents Assisting Children and Teachers—has also become a model for many cities. The community of Memphis was faced with a well-organized group called Citizens Against Busing. This group claimed the backing of virtually every white politician in the city and the support, in principle at least, of State Legislators, Congressmen and Senators. And although the community professed resistance to busing, IMPACT was able to encourage and achieve the peaceful implementation of a court-ordered desegregation plan which included busing on January 24, 1973.

David Cooley who was Executive Director of the Memphis Chamber of Commerce during the city's desegregation crisis, summed up IMPACT's success: "This project and the peaceful events of January 24 were a victory for the clear-thinking people of this town. It had to be done, and I'm damn proud of what we accomplished—and I say that knowing that the job is far from over—public education has to be salvaged—it's vital, essential. Without it, all our major institutions are threatened."*

Prince George's County Maryland...Carl W. Hassel, superintendent of the county's schools described the problems facing him as a result of the desegregation order: "Look, we transferred 30,000 students over a weekend. The week before, our county had been the scene of a national anti-busing rally. We were really apprehensive. But we didn't have one disruptive incident. Citizen involvement certainly paid off."

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*John Egerton, *Promise Progress: Memphis School Desegregation 1972-1973* (Atlanta, Georgia: Southern Regional Council, 1973), page 8.

Community Involvement—*Key to Success*

John Buggs, Staff Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, stressed the significance of what happened in Detroit, Memphis, Prince George's County, and hundreds of other communities as he delivered the luncheon address to the May 19 conference: "The single most important ingredient in achieving peaceful and successful desegregation is affirmative leadership by those entrusted with that community's social, economic, educational, political and religious institutions."

The call for affirmative community leadership was also sounded by George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO. "In every city where courts have ordered action to desegregate, the schools, the churches, service clubs, civic organizations, civil rights groups, and certainly the unions must be mobilized."

Coalition Building

The experience of the communities represented at the May 19 conference indicates that coalitions which came into being in a variety of ways faced similar challenges and problems in becoming viable and ready to serve. In these initial stages, all coalitions must respond to questions of need, timing, organization, goals, participation and money.

Need

As the reality of implementation day nears, diverse community agencies, groups, and organizations have in the past elected to utilize the coalition structure as the vehicle for ensuring community involvement in a peaceful transition.

According to Joseph Radelet of the Detroit Round Table of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, a coalition is needed to fill a potentially dangerous vacuum. As Radelet observed: "If it is not filled by positive leadership, the void will be filled with people that will eventually cause dissension and even violence."

People from a number of communities likewise saw the coalition as a way to provide a broad-based motivating force for peaceful change. As Thomas Quigley from Louisville, Kentucky's Task Force for Peaceful Desegregation said, "We formed a coalition because of the need for a presence that would cut across racial, neighborhood, and organizational lines and which would say, 'The peaceful implementation of the court order needs to be done in an effective and peaceful atmosphere.'"

Detroit faced serious problems in dealing with litigation which involved 56 school districts—and there, the coalition proved to be a unifying force. According to Elwood Hain of Detroit's Coalition for Peaceful Integration, "Desegregation is too complex and too important an issue for public officials to handle alone." Describing the need in his community, he recalled, "There was

nobody that the citizen could turn to for responsible public leadership. Seeing this void and the vigorous efforts of every other political leader to avoid filling it, it was decided that the citizenry had better take over their own future. A group of us set out to organize a coalition."

Timing

While timing is important for various aspects of organization, the experiences of the communities represented at the conference indicate that there is no such thing as an ideal time to form a coalition. As Elwood Hain discovered, "For some folks, you are too late; for other folks, you are too early. Some people do not understand that a storm is coming until they are in water up to their necks. Other people can see it before there is a cloud on the horizon." For Del Jones of the Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council, "The key word with timing is 'Listen.' Survey the environment, look at who is ready and then move with what you have."

A number of communities saw the issuance of a court order as their imperative to action. As Kenneth Kershaw, Omaha Regional Director of the NCCJ, and active in Concerned Citizens for Omaha reported, "It really took on a whole new spirit and a whole new frame of reference when the court order came down. Because of this, we have been able to build a very comprehensive, community-wide organization. It really deals with the fact that this situation is inevitable. The only question is how are we going to respond to it in the interest of our community."

Most groups, however, felt that a great deal needed to be done even before the issuance of a court order. As Kenneth Kershaw observed, "Even if you say, 'We can't really get activities going until there is something definitive from the courts,' it does not mean that there is nothing to be done. It is at this time that those key relationships which are very important can be built. The 'what if' games can be played over coffee or cocktails."

The experience of Dayton, Detroit, and other communities indicates that adequate preparation for court-ordered desegregation requires from one to three years. As Tommie Jones, the Community Relations Service, Conciliation Specialist assigned to Dayton, explained, "We strategized for a year prior to the desegregation order from the court. I think that is one of the great factors in peaceful implementation. We had gathered all of these forces together, and we actually had our large peaceful, coalition-sponsored integration day two weeks before the court order came down. We had people already signed up volunteering to participate."

A number of communities are facing State or Federal non-compliance orders and have also organized coalitions. One such community is Kansas City, Missouri. Ashton Stovall of the Quality Education Task Force described the dilemma of her community's leadership in this way: "Kansas City does not have a court order. We are determined as a community to have a

voluntary desegregation. It has been very difficult in Kansas City to talk about the implementation of a plan because we have not had someone saying 'Thou must do it by a certain day in time.'"

Organization

There are probably as many formats for structures and ways of organizing as there were communities represented at the conference. While all the coalitions developed in ad hoc fashion, initiative came from various segments of the community.

In Detroit, local impetus came from the churches, the Urban Coalition, and the League of Women Voters. In Prince George's County, Maryland, Cleveland, Milwaukee, and Dayton, religious groups formed the nucleus of emerging coalitions.

Robert Kolze of Metropolitan Churches United in Dayton, described the development of the coalition in his city: "We put together the interfaith task force because the religious community had to have a way of communicating with one another. Then we became interested in finding out what other organizations and groups and agencies were doing. We brought together about 30 community organizations precisely for the purpose of looking at whether or not we could form a coalition. The decision was made to form a steering committee and to begin laying out the objectives."

In Prince George's County, the League of Women Voters played an important part in the formation of the Prince George's Coalition for Desegregation. Important impetus came from the business community in Memphis, Tennessee and Dallas, Texas, and from organized labor in the State of Ohio.

A number of coalitions grew out of groups working on specific tasks or issues. From the community education project of the Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council, a continuing community-wide coalition developed. John Fischer of the Greater Milwaukee Conference on Religious and Urban Affairs reported that the coalition in his community began as a collaborative legislative program.

Once coalitions become organized, they usually concern themselves with defining their community's problem and exploring potential community resources and possible solutions for the problem. After these definition and exploration processes have been carried out, the community-at-large can become involved in "grass-roots" programming.

Goals

In Dayton, Omaha, Milwaukee, and many other cities represented at the conference, emerging coalitions have developed public statements on behalf of a peaceful process and the humane implementation of an ensuing plan.*

*A compilation of representative public position statements from a number of Community Coalitions can be obtained from the National Center for Quality Integrated Education.

These statements tend to become unifying positions which portray strong community civil and moral leadership and vehicles around which various community groups, agencies and private citizens can rally.

Armed with the public position statement which serves as a focal point or a general purpose, the incipient coalitions often find themselves faced with the need to decide what specific role they will play in the community desegregation process. In determining this role, most coalitions believed that foremost they would support and focus attention on the peaceful implementation of whatever desegregation plan emerged, and would utilize its collective membership to determine priorities and action strategies for the accomplishment of their goals.

William O'Brien, Co-Chairperson of PRO Detroit, stated:

> *Our groups made a determination at the outset that if we were going to save Detroit, one thing had to be clear. We were not going to become pro-busing. There were too many people in the city of Detroit that were opposed to busing. We had to reach them on one common ground, peace—peaceful implementation of whatever the court order might be. The PRO Detroit strategy was simply to steadily line up all possible commitment to peaceful acceptance of the court order, so that come B-Day, busing day, the community would know that the overwhelming majority were for peace, and that those who tend toward violence would be few in number and would be isolated. The strategy was to defuse the opposition.*

Participation

The importance of the broadest possible participation was recognized by all coalition leaders at the conference. Marcia Pitcole, from the twenty-five member Coalition for Peaceful Integration, for instance, described a representative coalition in this way:

> *Key leadership should build trust between the groups of a coalition and establish communication links. What you are really trying to start is a communication system among groups that do not always talk to one another.*
>
> *In Detroit, for example, we had a communication link with the plaintiffs; the defendants; the teachers union; some community groups who were at odds with the teachers union; the ministerial groups, etc. All of these groups* could *meet and discuss that which was thought of as a common need. During all of these sessions, the role of the key leadership was to listen and to build the linkages and trust components necessary so that when the court order came down, the groups would be ready to move forward. Part of coalition*

building is just the establishment of trust levels among those parties in your community which must be involved.

Coalition representatives from Prince George's County and Detroit stressed the importance of inviting people opposed to busing to participate. According to Joseph Radelet of the Detroit Round Table: "We need the leadership of those who are opposed to the desegregation plan. Those who opposed busing. They basically could say, 'I oppose busing, but it's the law now and we are bound to obey laws even if we disagree with them; also, I favor peace because I don't want my children to get hurt.'" A number of other coalitions, however, reported that they have had difficulty in persuading opponents of busing to join their efforts for peaceful implementation.

Other essential participants cited by coalition leaders included labor leaders, business groups, students, white ethnic groups, and racial minorities.

The coalition in a community is unique by its very nature. In the case of school desegregation, it addresses a problem faced by the community as a whole and therefore should be representative of that collective body. It was unanimously felt by the coalitions participating in the conference that in their respective community the safety of children and the maintenance of a peaceful implementation process was the underlying goal of the coalition and the activities undertaken by the coalition.

Money

Coalitions in Cleveland, Detroit, and Louisville, as well as many other communities, supported their early efforts through volunteer labor and inkind services from churches, labor unions, business, and other community groups. As Del Jones from Cleveland observed: "There are many things that can be done before you have money. Those of us who work for church agencies have always had to deal with the question of 'What can we do without money?' If the concern is community preparation, get going on it and do not wait for the money."

After they became established the coalitions in Cleveland and Detroit were able to obtain foundation grants. In Dallas, Dayton, and Detroit, the business community provided substantial financial support.

Federal money is also available for coalition efforts. According to Elwood Hain of the Detroit Coalition for Peaceful Integration, "You can get it with perserverance, luck and a desegregation order—if you put together a good proposal." Coalitions in Detroit, Omaha, Louisville, Prince George's County and many other communities have received grants from the Office of Education.*

*See the Office of Education section of the Appendix on Individual and Organizational Resources. Any nonprofit community organization which is eligible may apply for an Emergency School Assistance grant.

Coalition Activities

Once a coalition is formed, its most urgent concern becomes the type and extent of activities or programs it will utilize for the education and involvement of the citizenry in meeting its organizational goals. The participants of the conference offered a number of activities that had been undertaken by coalitions. Several approaches have been utilized by the coalition but the major focus of most coalitions to date has been on dissemination of information to the community and active "grass-roots" programming involving crisis prevention.

Providing Legal and Other Information

"IMPACT—not the pros, not the cons, just the facts," proclaimed the slogan adopted by the citizen coalition in Memphis, Tennessee. From the efforts of IMPACT and those of similar coalitions in Prince George's County, Maryland, Detroit, Michigan, and numerous other communities, it is clear that many concerned citizens share the conviction expressed by George Meany that "violence feeds on fear of the unknown, ignorance, and misunderstanding." In their determination to prevent violence, citizen coalitions developed hot lines, speaker's bureaus, newsletters, and many other strategies to bring vital information to their communities.

A great many people across the country have difficulty understanding how a Federal judge could order the busing of school children. Therefore, both PRO Detroit and the Coalition for Peaceful Integration undertook elementary legal education programs. PRO Detroit prepared brochures summarizing in lay language the court orders which immediately preceded desegregation. These brochures were widely distributed through the schools, neighborhood city halls, churches, community groups, and mailings.

Other coalitions have prepared similar brochures dealing with the history of desegregation and the need for citizen involvement.

Organizing Speaker's Bureaus

The legal education programs of most community coalitions included speaker's bureaus which provided community groups with informed interpretations of the court decisions and remedy.

The IMPACT program in Memphis went one step beyond the simple design of a speaker's bureau and not only responded to requests for speakers,

but actively sought platforms. James Holmes, IMPACT's chairperson, reports that because the coalition's representatives were highly respected members of the community, most groups, were willing to grant them an audience.

Neighborhood Meetings

Neighborhood meetings proved to be one of the most useful and widespread strate_ es for disseminating information. Night after nigi.t, representatives of the Task Force for Peaceful Desegregation, Louisville; the Coalition for Peaceful Integration, Detroit; and the Prince George's County Coalition for School Desegregation talked with the community-at-large. The Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council, through its several community education program activities, held neighborhood meetings months prior to any court decision. In Prince George's County, the League of Women Voters provided written discussion guides and trained discussion leaders for these meetings.

League members reported that their neighborhood get-togethers drew a number of people fearful of or opposed to "busing." In many cases, these people expressed surprise at the facts presented and left the meetings with revised opinions. At the end of a neighborhood meeting in Detroit, a woman revealed her affiliation with a local anti-busing organization and the fact that she had attended "out of curiosity about the opposition." Because of what she had learned from the meetings, she was going to become an advocate for peaceful implementation.

Calling Community Forums

Community-wide, coalition-sponsored meetings also helped provide vitally needed public education. Coalition for Peaceful Integration forums in Detroit presented detailed information about the responses of both the State Board of Education and the Detroit Board of Education to the court's desegregation order. A public meeting sponsored by PRO Detroit served as a forum for officials of Detroit's police department to describe plans for assuring the safety of the children and firm, even-handed law enforcement during implementation of the court order. Similar community forums have been conducted under coalition sponsorship in Wilmington, Buffalo, Milwaukee, Omaha, as well as in other cities.

Reviewing Past Desegregation Efforts

A number of coalitions have found it helpful to study the desegregation experiences of other cities. One meeting of the Quality Education Task Force in Kansas City, Missouri, featured a presentation by community leaders from Detroit and Cleveland. The National Center for Quality Integrated Education has collaborated with several of its national member groups in sponsoring regional consultations during which communities shared de-

segregation experiences. This process was begun in the fall of 1974 and since that time, through the auspices of the National Council of Churches, the Ministries in Public Education, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the National Education Association, the YWCA, the AFL-CIO, and the National Urban League, over one hundred communities have been involved.

Establishing Telephone Hotlines and Information Centers

Any citizen in Detroit, Memphis, Omaha, Prince George's County, and many other communities who wanted information about desegregation, had only to pick up the telephone and call a well-publicized hot line number. These hot lines, such as the one operated by Concerned Citizens for Omaha, provided up-to-date officially verified information and served as a check on rumors and as a sounding-board and flak catcher.

Rumor control and information centers, generally staffed by volunteers have also succeeded in keeping rumors to a minimum in many desegregating cities.

Trained telephone monitors, linked to official and community services of information, replied to all citizen inquiries. Information phone numbers were widely publicized in the media. The Community Relations Service provides technical assistance to many communities in establishing these centers and in training volunteers.

Reaching the News Media

A primary goal of many coalitions has been establishing a positive, working relationship with the local media to allay public fear and apprehension.

PRO Detroit acted as media coordinator for all groups working for the peaceful desegregation of schools in that city. Immediately after it was formed PRO Detroit's leaders met with the top management, as well as the editorial and reporting staffs, of the local newspapers, television, and radio stations to urge fair and non-inflammatory coverage of the unfolding desegregation story. William O'Brien, co-chairperson of PRO Detroit, reports that "their response was positive as they agreed that they, too, had a stake in the way Detroit handled this challenge." Detroit newspaper reporters wanting to interview concerned parents who were optimistic about the implementation of the court order frequently turned to Marcia Pitcole of the Coalition for Peaceful Integration for appropriate names.

Leaders of the Prince George's Coalition for School Desegregation spent an entire morning with managers, editors, and reporters of *The Washington Post*. Midge Patterson, a coalition leader feels that the *Post* responded with coverage that was both accurate and as positive as possible. Coalition leaders also met with representatives of local P.G. County papers. Immediately prior to the implementation of the court order in Prince George's County, *The*

Washington Post, The Washington Star-News and several Prince George's papers published bus routes, pupil assignment instructions, and other portions of the information packet developed by the coalition.

In September 1976, two days before the opening of school in Omaha, representatives of all media in the area attended a workshop sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Concerned Citizens for Omaha. This workshop featured input by representatives from the Justice Department's Community Relations Service and the National Center for Quality Integregated Education who had observed media performance during desegregation crises in other communities.

Building a Public Information Program

The recent desegregation experiences of a number of cities demonstrate that love of community, concern for children, respect for the law, and belief in public education are emotional attitudes shared by most citizens. Public relations campaigns which successfully created an association between those attitudes and peaceful desegregation proved to be highly effective.

In Prince George's County, Buffalo, Louisville, Omaha, Milwaukee, Cleveland, and Detroit, coalitions found it extremely useful to publish community-school newsletters. More elaborate public information programs also appeared.

Detroit's experience... Two public service media campaigns were developed by PRO Detroit to start 17 days before busing was to begin. The primary campaign included 12 brief, matter-of-fact TV and radio spots featuring a cross-section of Detroiters on how and why they personally were accepting the court order. While the great majority were everyday people, the mayor, a former mayor, a priest, a nun, and even a relaxed policeman also appeared. The policeman was asked, "Well, officer, what would you do if your wife decided to become violent." The white policeman thought a minute, and said, "She would have to go to the hoosegow." Then he thought another minute, and said, "But I would hope she would not do that." The spirit of the campaign was summed up by the remark of a white high-school boy whose "Just be cool!" signed off most of the TV and radio spots.

Detroit's four major television stations were partners with PRO Detroit in producing and airing the spots—free of charge. They ran on television alone approximately 300 times. When it became evident that implementation of the court order had begun without incident, they were phased out. "At commercial rates, the production and air time costs of these spots would have been far in excess of $100,000," estimates PRO Detroit's William O'Brien.

A second public service campaign was developed by PRO Detroit in close consultation with the Detroit school system. The approach was low key but emotional—"Detroit's Kids...Love 'em!" The message, against a background showing a warm drawing of children's faces, did not mention busing.

The campaign was on television, radio, billboards, 800 bus posters, and thousands of bumper stickers.

Memphis' experience...IMPACT in Memphis also undertook a very effective public relations effort. Its most dramatic advertisement appeared in a television spot, a newspaper ad, and a brochure designed for mailing. The ad featured a picture of one of the city's largest high schools with a "For Sale" sign in front of it. "This is what can happen to our entire school system if we don't get together and work things out," warned the accompanying copy and the voice-over announcer. The message on television ended with the familiar slogan: "IMPACT—not the pros, not the cons, just the facts." Similar campaigns, using bumper stickers and slogans were also carried out in Dallas, Dayton, Omaha, Detroit, and Prince George's County.

Mobilizing Influential Support

PRO Detroit coordinated a series of events promoting peaceful acceptance of court ordered desegregation. These events included a letter by PRO Detroit's honorary chairmen, the mayor, and a former mayor, to 134,000 homes of school families; a statement by the governor; a resolution signed by State legislators; a unanimous resolution of the city council; a news conference by leaders of the major religious faiths; and a supportive news conference by an anti-busing leader.

In Memphis, an IMPACT-sponsored newspaper ad which urged all citizens to deal with the desegregation crisis "in a calm and rational way" carried the names of 33 of the city's most influential persons. In Prince George's County, the local bar association issued a statement calling for peaceful compliance with the Federal court's desegregation order, and the police officers association put out a statement emphasizing respect for law and peace.

In Dayton, Ohio, much of the neighborhood activity supported by the coalition was coordinated by the mayor's office during the opening of school. In Dallas, the Chamber of Commerce was importantly involved in developing and supporting the Dallas Alliance.

Promoting Understanding In The Schools

Human relations and social activities have played an important part in the successful efforts of community coalitions in many cities—including Detroit, Memphis, and Prince George's County. These activities have helped students, parents, and school personnel feel more comfortable and positive about the changes in their schools, as well as aiding in the preparation of the community for impending student and school changes.

Bringing Parents Together...In a variety of ways, coalitions developed programs to bring parents together. IMPACT in Memphis worked through local PTA's to arrange "swap outs" where parents whose children would be

attending school together for the first time could meet one another. The Prince George's Coalition for Desegregation sponsored a series of seminars for black and white parents. During these seminars, which were led by people from the county's mental health association, fears, hopes and expectations were expressed and explored, and the participants had an opportunity to get to know one another. The Coalition for Peaceful Integration in Detroit trained parents in a nationally recognized human relations program known as the Green Circle.

Student-Teacher Activities...Coalition programs also helped prepare students for desegregation. The Coalition for Peaceful Integration in Detroit created "Boundary Breaking Can," a human relations program used by Detroit teachers to help newly-acquainted students develop open, positive relationships. The National Conference of Christians and Jews (NCCJ) in Prince George's County conducted human relations programs for both elementary and secondary students. These programs were given in classrooms, at meetings of school human relations clubs, and at a special student forum on desegregation sponsored by the county school system. NCCJ also provided each Prince George's County School with a collection of human relations materials suitable for classroom use.

Community drama played a part in successful efforts to make desegregation peaceful. A professional, bi-racial production of *Peter Pan* sponsored by the Coalition for Peaceful Integration toured Detroit's elementary schools, providing a pleasurable experience for students from different schools and backgrounds to share. *Dig It*, a sociodrama group organized by the Prince George's County NCCJ presented timely, improvisational sketches which helped community and school groups develop a better understanding of human relations concepts.

School Administration Activities...School systems naturally develop their own plans for desegregation preparation, and in Prince George's County, leaders of the citizen coalition participated in the development of the school system's "Project Desegregation Plan for Successfully Desegregating the Prince George's County Public Schools." "Project Desegregation" included human relations training for school personnel and extensive welcoming and get-acquainted activities for students and parents throughout the county. Students scheduled for transferral were taken on field trips to the schools they would soon be attending. Pen pals and buddy systems were also arranged.

The weekend before the implementation of court-ordered busing in Prince George's County, there were open houses in every school to which students would be transferred. In Detroit, the Coalition for Peaceful Integration also participated in welcoming activities for students and parents immediately prior to desegregation.

Crisis Prevention Actions...A final point of discussion on coalition activities at the conference concerned strategies for trouble shooting.

Key elements of successful strategies in Dayton, Detroit, and Omaha were effective utilization of parent volunteers and crisis preparation. These coalitions were able to build-up, before the implementation of a plan, a network of concerned individuals and organizations both from the school district and from the community-at-large.

In Detroit, the Coalition for Peaceful Integration performed a vital service by acting as a referral center both for people wanting to volunteer and for agencies needing volunteers. Detroit radio stations broadcast recorded messages urging citizens to volunteer by calling the Coalition. The Coalition recruited volunteers for the court ordered monitoring commission, the police chaplain's corps, strategic school locations and bus stops. In Memphis, over 2,000 volunteers recruited by IMPACT gave information, assistance, and reassurance to students and parents at school bus stops.

Many coalitions helped to remedy situations that might have precipitated or aggravated incidents. Coalitions took complaints about unsafe school crossings, for instance, and relayed them to the appropriate city agency for correction. They would then stay in touch until the situation was corrected and the complaining citizen informed.

During the initial day of desegregation, local community group personnel in many cities maintained a visible presence at school bus stops and other important locations. Often church groups coordinated such efforts. In Prince George's County, clergy trained in crisis observation wore identifying arm bands. They reported their observations to county school and law enforcement officials. In Detroit, staff and volunteers from the Coalition for Peaceful Integration maintained low-key surveillance at critical locations.

Examples of Local Leadership Role

Religious Groups Organize Unique Programs

Vigorous and resourceful religious leadership has played a key role in virtually all of the coalition communities.

In many, the interchurch agency has been the initial convenor for the coalition. This has been true in Milwaukee, Kansas City, Louisville, and Cleveland.

Prince George's County clergy designated the week immediately preceding the implementation of court ordered pupil transfers as "County Desegregation Week." They sponsored six town meetings to inform parents about ways to help the school system and the children make a successful transition, and from the pulpits they urged peaceful compliance.

"When members of the clergy preached on peaceful implementation, they were much more effective than when they preached in support of busing," reported Joseph Radelet, Associate Director of the Detroit Round Table of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and Reverend James Holmes, Chairman of Project IMPACT in Memphis.*

The Detroit clergy organized days of prayer throughout the process of desegregation. During the first weekend of each month, local congregations observed days of prayer which often led members to productive discussion and action. In Dayton, Ohio, an all-night prayer vigil was held in many churches in the community the evening before school opened.

The Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council initiated community education activities with a series of five community-wide conferences, some held 18 months before the court order. Other interchurch agencies have played a key role in conducting similar community education conferences in a host of other cities including Buffalo, Indianapolis, and Wilmington.

Other Church Activities... Timely demonstrations of leadership by Catholic clergy provided strategic support for peaceful school desegregation. In several cities, the Archdiocese has mandated that the Catholic schools would not serve as a haven for families trying to escape school desegregation. Key local leadership from parishes in Omaha, Nebraska initiated community education and human relations activities which supported other coalition efforts city-wide.

Inter-parish sharing which brought together the parents of black and white children who would soon be attending school together was organized by Detroit's Northwest Ministerial Alliance and the Northeast Pastor's Association. A number of churches "adopted" local schools and became extensively involved in the life of that school—organizing volunteers, providing church facilities, helping the P.T.A., etc.

The Chaplain's Corps of the Detroit Police Department organized and trained crisis-intervention cadres in the various police districts. These citizen-leaders were prepared to work collaboratively with the police to defuse tensions.

Business Responds to the Challenge

The importance of the business community's contribution to peaceful desegregation has been demonstrated in Memphis, Detroit, Dallas, and Omaha as well as in many other cities. From public relations campaigns to leadership in the development of a court-approved desegregation plan, the role of business covers a wide range of activities.

In Memphis, Tennessee, the Chamber of Commerce made peaceful

*Joseph Radelet has prepared a paper which describes in considerable detail how religious leaders helped to bring about peaceful school desegregation in Detroit. Copies of the paper entitled "Religious Leadership and Detroit School Desegregation" can be obtained from the National Center for Quality Integrated Education.

implementation of a court desegregation order its highest priority. Chamber initiative was responsible for the creation of the citizen coalition, known as IMPACT, that led Memphis through the peaceful desegregation of its public schools. The Chamber provided the coalition with an executive director and headquarter facilities.

In Detroit, the business community provided personnel and funds for the efforts of PRO Detroit, a very broad coalition in the Motor City. One of the coalition's chairpersons, William H. O'Brien, reported: "We went to every single TV station. We asked to see the entire staff. We wanted the general manager, the program manager, the news director, the special features persons, and anyone who was involved. Every station sat down with us. At commercial rates, the news and electronic media contribution to PRO Detroit was in excess of $100,000 worth of production services and air time."

Posters presenting the message, "Detroit Kids...Love 'em!" were displayed on billboards contributed by an advertising firm.

As a result of his experience in Detroit, O'Brien recommended that business people could help coalitions "in planning, in coordinating, in action, in communication, in reporting, and in evaluating. These are fundamental concepts of business, and this is where business can really help those coalitions by effectively providing this kind of expertise."

The Dallas Chamber of Commerce likewise created, financed, and staffed the Dallas Alliance, a citizen's organization representing a cross-section of races and interests. This business-financed community coalition created the desegregation plan which was adopted by the local district court.*

And in Omaha, three years before the city was placed under court order, eight prominent leaders in the business community took out a full-page newspaper ad appealing for rational thought toward the issue of desegregation.

Subsequently business leaders helped form the Concerned Citizens for Omaha—a "communications network" built upon the community's existing, recognized social structures.

Donald Gearhart, Senior Evaluation Specialist of the Northern National Gas Company, in describing the development of the Concerned Citizens for Omaha, said: "We went to the Chamber and asked if they would help us organize the business sector. They said they would help to organize it, but that they would like to involve another group, which was the Midcity Business and Professional Association, basically the Black Chamber of Commerce in Omaha. Those two formed a partnership and organized the business sector of

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*In September 1975, the Fifth United States Circuit Court set forth a set of guidelines and ordered the local district court to develop an appropriate desegregation plan. After studying the guidelines, the needs of the community, and desegregation efforts in other parts of the country, the Education Task Force of the Dallas Alliance submitted a desegregation plan to Judge William M. Taylor. Early in 1976, Judge Taylor declared the Alliance Task Force "amicus curiae" and adopted the plan it had developed.

the Concerned Citizens for Omaha. They tried to link up with the Geographic Merchants Association, the realty board, the Omaha Bankers Association. Those kinds of organizations are all included within the business sector."

Gearhart added: "There are now five basic objectives of the business sector developed by the working sector committee: liaison with and support for the PR functional committee; employee awareness programs; 'keep it peaceful' type messages via company mailing, billboards, and bumper stickers on company cars; public education via a traveling display, using shopping center malls, public information areas; and liaison with and support for the resources committee, which was established to obtain financial support."

Organized Labor Assumes Affirmative Role

Organized labor's commitment to peaceful desegregation was reaffirmed in George Meany's message to the *National Conference on Desegregation Without Turmoil*:

> *In every city where the courts have ordered action to desegregate the schools, the churches, service clubs, civic organizations, civil rights groups, and certainly the unions must be mobilized. . . the AFL-CIO is fully committed to help build such bridges and create such forums in the cities where school desegregation is under way. We intend to help, as well, in many other cities, including those in which the courts have not (yet) acted. In our view, ensuring justice for school children is a job that should be done willingly and promptly in every community without waiting for orders.*

Under the aegis of the State AFL-CIO, union leaders in Columbus, Ohio formed a committee for the purpose of organizing a coalition made up of a cross-section of organizations throughout the city. "One of the things that we were quite concerned about was flaming headlines about violence in other cities," says Warren Pate of the Ohio AFL-CIO. Pate arranged a luncheon where the NAACP's legal counsel briefed media representatives. Pate reported that thereafter, "The court litigation process has been presented through straight-forward coverage."

Educators Look Beyond Classroom

In a number of communities, affiliates of both the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers have developed community involvement programs.

In New Jersey, the New Brunswick Education Association, supported by a Federal Title VII ESAA grant, undertook a human relations/community involvement program in support of its desegregation plan. Under this program, teachers became involved in a wide range of special projects—including health care, day care, housing, ethnic activities, and consumer

education. Teacher/community teams devoted in-service days to the special projects. Each team was supported by a parent/student component and each special project addressed a particular problem in the community which related to the school desegregation question.

The United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA) developed a different approach to easing tensions associated with school change. They organized and conducted a teacher training institute with the assistance of a small NIE grant on "The Teacher's Role in the Desegregation Process." The program included information about the Office of Education, Civil Rights Division; the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; the Community Relations Service, U.S. Department of Justice; and the National Institute of Education. A number of private resources were also available for a host of small discussion sessions.

The UTLA disseminated "A Directory of Education Interests in Los Angeles." This directory, edited and published by the Greater Los Angeles Urban Coalition, lists citizen and professional organizations, programs and projects and educational institutions and governing bodies. The Los Angeles teachers also distributed a bibliography of children's books which reinforce a positive self-image of black children.

Conclusion

Attendees at the *Desegregation Without Turmoil Conference* went home remembering the words of Ben Holman, Director of the Community Relations Service: "The seeds of turmoil are present in all cities. Whether they sprout and grow, or wither and die depends on the gardeners—you as active community members."

And they also went home with a new understanding of the community's role in fostering peaceful change in the schools.

The conference planners hope that this completed report might serve not only as a handy reference source for those who attended the conference, but also as an "experience guide" for those who could not.

APPENDIX A: CONFERENCE PROGRAM

8:30- 9:30 a.m.	Registration and Coffee	Crabtree Auditorium
9:30- 9:45 a.m.	Call to Order	J. Oscar Lee, Chairperson, Program and Policy Committee National Center for Quality Integrated Education
	Greetings and Introductions	Terry Herndon, Executive Director National Education Association
		Donald W. McEvoy, Vice-President for Programs National Conference of Christians and Jews
	Remarks of the Conference Chairperson	Dorothy Height, President National Council of Negro Women Director, Center for Racial Justice National Board of the YWCA of the USA
9:45-10:30 a.m.	Keynote Address	Ben Holman, Director Community Relations Service U.S. Department of Justice Washington, D.C.
10:30-12:15 p.m.	A Community Discussion	"Coalescing for Smooth Transition"
	Interviewers:	Donald R. Shire, Director National Center for Quality Integrated Education
		Bertram Levine, National Liaison Officer Community Relations Service U.S. Department of Justice

	Respondants:	CLEVELAND, OHIO: Greater Cleveland Interchurch Council Del Jones DETROIT, MICHIGAN: Coalition for Peaceful Integration Elwood Hain Marcia Pitcole LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY: The Task Force for Peaceful Desegregation Thomas Quigley Samuel Robinson KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI: Quality Education Task Force James Leffingwell Ashton Stovall MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN: Greater Milwaukee Conference on Religious and Urban Affairs John Fischer James Lyles OMAHA, NEBRASKA: Concerned Citizens for Omaha Kenneth Kershaw
	Resource Persons:	U.S. Community Relations Service, Dayton, Ohio Tommie Jones Ohio AFL-CIO Warren Smith Questions from the audience
12:15-12:25 p.m.	Special Videotaped Message	George Meany, President AFL-CIO

12:30- 2:15 p.m.	Luncheon Address	John Buggs, Staff Director U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Washington, D.C.
2:30- 4:30 p.m.	Problemsolving Workshops	A) THE LOCAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION'S ROLE IN WORKING TOWARD PEACEFUL IMPLEMENTATION AND BEYOND
	Chairperson:	Elwood Hain, Past President Coalition for Peaceful Integration, Detroit, Michigan
	Coordinator:	Rita Scott, U.S. Community Relations Service Detroit, Michigan
	Resource Persons:	Leon Hall Education Program Officer Southern Regional Council Atlanta, Georgia
		Carmencita Jones, Chairperson Quality Integrated Education Committee Springfield, Massachusetts
		Robert Kolze Metropolitan Churches United Dayton, Ohio
		W.M. (Mort) Mondale The "UNI-serv" Unit Aberdeen, South Dakota
		A. Robert Phillips Boston, Massachusetts
		Joseph Radelet, Associate Director Detroit, Michigan Round Table, NCCJ

B) THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION'S ROLE IN FURTHERING LOCAL COALITION EFFORTS

Chairperson: Betty Olive, Associate Director
Center for Racial Justice
National Board, YWCA of the USA

Coordinator: J. Oscar Lee, Senior Consultant
National Conference of Christians and Jews

Resource Persons: J. Blaine Fister, Director
Public Education Concerns
National Council of Churches

Carol Gibson
Director of Education
National Urban League

Yvonne Price, Executive Assistant
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

Harold H. Viehman
National Director
Ministries in Public Education

Tomás Villarreal, Jr.
Executive Director
National Education Task Force de la Raza

C) THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY'S ROLE IN WORKING TOWARD PEACEFUL AND EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION

Chairperson: John Holcomb, Director
Public Affairs Resource Centers
Public Affairs Council
Washington, D.C.

Coordinators: Jonathan Chase
U.S. Community Relations Service
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Robert Greenwald
U.S. Community Relations Service
Dallas, Texas

Resource Persons:

Kenneth B. Kershaw, Director
National Conference of Christians and Jews, Omaha, Nebraska

Rene Martinez, Manager
Department of Urban Affairs
Chamber of Commerce
Dallas, Texas

William H. O'Brien
Co-Chairperson, PRO-Detroit
Executive Secretary
Civic Searchlight, Inc.
Detroit, Michigan

Ervin Neff
Coordinator of Special Projects
Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Board
St. Paul, Minnesota

D) COALITION BUILDING OF COMMUNITY/ SCHOOL PARTNERSHIPS

Chairperson:

Pat Pruden
Human Relations Officer
Prince George's County Public Schools, Maryland

Coordinator:

Charles Collins, Assistant Director
National Center for Quality Integregated Education

Resource Persons:

R. Boyd Bosma
Civil Liberties and Intergroup Relations
National Education Association

J. Michael Fay, Project Director
Los Angeles Urban Project
Los Angeles, California

Del Hagin
Community Ministries of
Prince George's County, Maryland

Winston E. Turner
Immediate Past President
National Association of Elementary
School Principals

Barbara VanBlake
Director of Human Rights
and Community Relations
American Federation of Teachers

Jean Oliver
Human Relations Department
Prince George's County
Public Schools, Maryland

E) THE COALITION'S ROLE IN INFLUENCING THE RECIPROCAL IMPACT OF DESEGREGATION ON STUDENT DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURES

Chairperson: Betty Pickett
ESAA Project Director
National Conference of Christians
and Jews, Memphis, Tennessee

Coordinators: Bertha Hudson, Consultant
U.S. Community Relations Service
Atlanta, Georgia

Althea Simmons
Director for Education Programs
NAACP, New York, New York

Resource Persons: Heinda Borowski
Program Director
National Conference of Christians
and Jews, Memphis, Tennessee

James Coleman
Associate Superintendent for
Community Development
Jefferson County School Systems,
Kentucky

Ann Colister
Parkdale Senior High School
Prince George's County, Maryland

Winifred Green, Director
Southeastern Public Education
Program
American Friends Service
Committee, Atlanta, Georgia

James Love
Crosslands Senior High School
Prince George's County, Maryland

Charles F. Ray, Headmaster
Roxbury High School
Roxbury, Massachusetts

F) THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE MULTI-LINGUAL/MULTI-CULTURAL COMMUNITY TO THE DESEGREGATION PROCESS

Chairperson:	Carlos Saavedra Executive Director Bilingual/Bicultural Project Colorado State Department of Education, Denver, Colorado
Coordinator:	Silke Hansen U.S Community Relations Service Boston, Massachusetts
Resource Persons:	Frieda Garcia, Director Consultant and Education Boston, Massachusetts
	Richard Hiller Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund New York, New York

Pat Perez, Teacher Rights Division
National Education Association
Chicago, Illinois

John Tsang
Bilingual Education Project
Boston Public Schools
Boston, Massachusetts

G) THE FINANCING OF THE COALITION AND RELATED FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

Chairperson:	Robert O. Bothwell, Director School Finance Reform Project National Urban Coalition Washington, D.C.
Coordinator:	Norman H. Vant, Chairman Desegregation Institute Rider College, Trenton, New Jersey
Resource Persons	Marilyn Braveman Director of Education American Jewish Committee New York City
	Marcia Pitcole, Director Coalition for Peaceful Integration Project, Detroit, Michigan

H) THE ETHNIC DIMENSION OF A DESEGREGATION PROCESS

Chairperson:	Paul R. Gibson, Director Urban and Ethnic Education Illinois Office of Education Chicago, Illinois
Coordinator:	Catherine Z. Brown Ethnic Heritage Studies Program U.S. Office of Education Washington, D.C.
Resource Persons:	Paul G. Barker Director of Education Projects Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity, New York City

		David Cohen, Coordinator Ethnic Materials Task Force American Library Association Flushing, New York
		Samuel B. Ethridge, Director NEA Ethnic Heritage Studies Assessment Project Washington, D.C.
		Elinor Hart, Project Manager NEA Ethnic Heritage Studies Assessment Project Washington, D.C.
		Mew-Soong Li Community Development Program Office of Economic Opportunity Dallas, Texas
4:45- 5:00 p.m.	Follow-up Remarks Crabtree Auditorium	Donald R. Shire, Director National Center for Quality Integregated Education
5:00 p.m.	Conference Wrap-Up	Dorothy Height Conference Chairperson

A display of coalition developed materials will be available for your information and use at the conclusion of the conference in Crabtree Auditorium. In addition, a film will be previewed at that time which was developed and produced by the Dallas business community. The twenty minute film will be introduced by Rene Martinez, Dallas, Texas Chamber of Commerce.

Conference Manager: Christine Kirk, National Center for Quality Integrated Education

APPENDIX B—TEXT OF SPEECH BY BEN HOLMAN, DIRECTOR, COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Four years ago, some 50,000 Latinos, Whites and Blacks took to the streets of Boston behind their Mayor, their Governor, and a phalanx of civic leaders. They marched to put an end to the beatings and the hatred that exist in that city. Among the marchers was a college student who is quoted as saying: "This should have happened two years ago. Now it may be too late."

The tragedy of Boston, a city whose proud reputation is now in disrepute around the world, may well serve other cities. When conciliation specialists and mediators of my agency, the Community Relations Service, respond to communities requesting assistance to help implement a desegregation plan, they suggest, first of all that the community draw on the experience of other cities that are experiencing or have experienced the process.

We often suggest contacting certain people in Boston, among other cities because much has been learned and a lot of good programming has been done there. However, we often get the reply: "Forget how it was done in Boston; tell us how it was done in Detroit."

It seems Americans have a new rallying cry. Instead of "Remember the Alamo" or "Remember Pearl Harbor," it is: "Let's not have another Boston."

Perhaps that rallying cry is what brought many of you to this conference. If it is, let's all say, "Thank you Boston!"

Boston should not be made a whipping boy; the problem should not be viewed in terms of heroes or villains. To read the painless and the painful experiences with desegregation in terms of heroes and villains is to make an erroneous assessment. The problem lies in the complex web of the human condition—the interplay of ignorance, fear, anxiety, insecurity, racism, and civic leadership politics.

The seeds of turmoil are present in all cities. Whether they sprout and grow depends on the gardeners.

Let us say simply that in Boston the weeds got the jump on the gardeners. The problem got ahead of the situation, and it's always hard to play catch-up. Hopefully, the solution seekers here today are ahead of the problem. Once ahead, it's easier to stay ahead.

We are here today to learn by sharing experiences how community organizations can help their school districts desegregate without turmoil. Although we come from many places and possess varied backgrounds, we all have one or more of the following things in common: Love of community, concern for children, respect for law, and realism.

We all see desegregation down the road and know that, like it or not, it cannot be pushed aside or washed away. It will come with or without turmoil. The transition can be productive or destructive. We are here because we want to

learn how to accentuate the productive and minimize the destructive potential.

Hopefully, this conference will produce, for the first time, a compilation of the body of knowledge contained in our collective experience. The Conference Report, which will record these experiences, will be published.

Feel free to call upon the regional offices of this agency, the CRS, or the National Center for Quality Integregated Education—called QIE—for technical assistance. Literature about these organizations is available to you. We'll help you, to the limit of our resources. If we can't help, maybe we'll be able to refer you to someone who can.

We're here today to find ways to prepare our communities for a smooth desegregation transition by organizing coalitions to realize this goal. This is a job, I'm sure most of you know, which requires patience.

In establishing a coalition we must begin with a recognition that a coalition can be a house of many mansions—with some of them outside the house. In some cities the business community will be part of the inner council; in others it will be doing its own thing with a partial overlap. Some civil rights organizations will be included, others may believe they can better serve their advocacy role by staying out. Some coalitions are leagues of smaller coalitions.

In establishing your coalition, I suggest that you strive to make your cooperating network as inclusive as possible. Perhaps the hardest problem faced will be that of reaching out to the segment that is opposed to desegregation. The biggest mistake you could make in trying to establish your coalition would be to write off this segment as the enemy. This will only serve to enlarge the resistance to implementation.

Once the inevitability of desegregation is clear, it is possible to make common cause with some who would prefer the status quo but place top priority on the safety and well-being of children and respect of law. I urge that you make sure there is a place for them in your network.

In reaching out to the resistant community, a natural bridge just might be organized labor. Today, there are some who say that labor isn't playing as important a role as it could in this regard. It may be due in some cities to reluctance on the part of local labor leadership; it may also be due to insufficient efforts on the part of local coalition leadership to bring in local labor leadership.

However, in the past year, I know that the AFL-CIO has been engaged in vigorous and productive efforts to encourage labor's involvement in working for peaceful implementation of desegregation plans. This effort has enjoyed the personal leadership of Mr. Meany whose special message you will hear later this morning. A film of his address will be available for use in your communities upon request. Several representatives of international unions and central labor councils are at this meeting to discuss ways to bring about a better fusion of effort.

Before discussing the role of coalitions, I want to say a word here about your

franchise, which is your license to operate.

Some coalitions are slow to form because everyone is waiting for an investiture. They ask: "Who am I, the Chamber of Commerce?" "Who am I, the League of Women Voters?" "Who am I, the Metropolitan Church Council?" "Education is the responsibility of the school board. Public safety is handled by the police. Political leadership rests with the mayor—and none of them has sought my help."

All true! But not true enough!

Your investiture must be self-determined. Your authority derives from an old American tradition of citizen responsibility and initiative. This self-investiture comes with the realization that desegregation in today's climate is too important to be left alone to the school board, the police chief, the mayor and the council. They need your help whether they know it or not.

Now that poses a very delicate responsibility for a self-ordained coalition: How to inspire, to coax, to insist, to help; how to avoid unwarranted intrusion; when to lead the official leaders; how to give them support; how to convince *them* to make good use of *you*.

The appropriate role of the coalition is multifold. It requires service at many levels: To advocate policy in high places, and, when necessary, to provide volunteers as hallway and bathroom monitors. It means orchestrating whatever community resources can be drawn upon for whatever jobs need to be done. This will vary with the community.

For example, in one city, the mayor's office and the school board may have collaborated to establish an effective rumor control and information center. In another, the coalition may have to sell the idea, blueprint its operation, and provide much of the staff.

Let me dwell on this one form of coalition service to illustrate what I mean by orchestration of resources.

What are the subjects on which the community needs education?

Well, first there is the law. What does the Constitution require? Why did the court rule as it did? What were its findings? Is its remedy consistent with the rulings of appellate courts and the Supreme Court? Was the judge in error or would any Federal judge have arrived at a similar decision?

Enlist the Bar Association to prepare a statement answering these questions. Find a corporation to fund publication of the answers. Organize a media committee to gain editorial endorsement of the statement. Organize a speakers bureau to interpret it to the community. Utilize your network of churches, neighborhood associations, service organizations to convene city-wide and neighborhood meetings to discuss it.

Do the same thing with regard to:

- Features of the desegregation plan;
- Police and school plans for the safety of children;

- The transportation plan; and
- Plans for maintaining and upgrading the quality of education.

Coalitions should feel free to assure themselves that all involved agencies are doing whatever can be done to prepare for a smooth implementation. And you should seek community involvement in all appropriate aspects of that preparation.

Coalitions must ask themselves these questions:

- Are the police and schools drawing contingency plans well in advance?
- Are schools and police engaged in joint planning at city-wide and precinct levels?
- Are both institutions offering in-service training to equip supervisors as well as rank-and-file for the special responsibilities and problems desegregation will require?

If the answer is no to all or even one of those questions, then they had better get to work.

Let's talk briefly about money. As we all know, coalitions, like most organizations face a problem of funding. However, they usually struggle along in a variety of ways—generally inadequately.

Local corporation foundations and church organizations sometimes provide seed money. Federal programs are another type of resource. ESAA funds from the U.S. Office of Education, unfortunately, become available too late—only after a desegregation plan has been approved. Community preparation for desegregation should have begun long before then.

Within this room are experts who have learned about funding through hard experience. They will share that experience with you today.

A major role of the coalition is to play politics. Small "p" "politics." The best mayor in the world, the best school board member is no better than his ability to get elected or reelected. None of them can afford to play a losing hand. Work to make sure that wise leadership which resists turmoil is recognized as a winning hand.

Although many of you know how to do this much better than I, let me suggest just a few general approaches. Any elected official knows only two kinds of people: Those he or she can count and those he or she can weigh. Both are important. Deal with the heavyweights first—the people of influence; both downtown and in local neighborhoods. Reach out to them, bring them into your movement, encourage them to be seen and heard in support—on the platform, in print, behind the scenes.

With regard to the general public, always keep in mind that the majority starts out on your side. Whatever their opinions on desegregation or busing, obeying the law is a central fiber of their self identity.

Remember that when good men are silent, and the loudest sounds one hears are the trumpets of resistance and discord, a bandwagon psychology takes

hold. That's when the grass gets ahead of the gardener. It's important at the earliest opportunity that civic leaders and community organizations make clear to their respective constituencies and to the public at large that the ethos of your city—the essence of our community—is built around respect for law, concern for children, and practical realism in accomodating necessary change.

Coalitions should familiarize themselves with, and utilize, whatever resources are available—not the least of which is the Community Relations Service of the Justice Department. For those of you who are not yet familiar with CRS, let me indicate briefly how we can be useful to you. We were created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to help win voluntary compliance with civil rights law and to serve as the Nation's race-relations trouble-shooter to help communities deal with group conflict. Our staff of 65—mostly veteran, mediators and conciliators—learned their trade from our agency's experience at such places as Selma, Watts, Boston, and Wounded Knee. More importantly, we have worked in literally thousands of cases affecting schools, helping school and community leaders solve problems—where the problem never hit front page headlines because the story was peace, not conflict.

We have worked in scores of communities to bring about peaceful implementation of school desegregation plans. We work with organizations, coalitions, schools and police departments: We provide technical assistance through staff specialists and consultants, we facilitate exchanges of experience between communities, we provide training for police and school personnel, we help design police contingency plans and school security plans, we help in structuring rumor control and community information centers.

Our services are free; they may be triggered by a single telephone call at any time of the day or night to any of ten regional offices scattered around the country.

Some of our regional offices will be carrying a peak case load this summer and fall. But we'll go to overload if necessary, because helping you to solve your disputes and difficulties is what our work is all about.

Thank you very much.

May 19, 1976

APPENDIX C—TEXT OF SPEECH BY GEORGE MEANY PRESIDENT, AFL-CIO

The following is the text of the remarks by AFL-CIO President George Meany in a filmed message to the May 19 Washington, D.C. Conference on "Desegregation Without Turmoil" sponsored jointly by the Community Relations Service of the U.S. Department of Justice and the National Center for Quality Integrated Education:

While I would like very much to be with you in person today, I cannot, for the AFL-CIO Executive Council meets at exactly the same time. So I greet you through this medium and congratulate both the sponsors and the delegates from all the organizations that are participating. All Americans have a stake in your success, and you have the best wishes and the full support of the AFL-CIO.

The title of this conference, "Desegregation Without Turmoil," is by no means wishful thinking. There is an honor roll of cities that have succeeded in ending discrimination in the schools without public disorder. Nothing, it seems to me, is more important than to study their case histories, analyze their experience and try to apply it to other cities that are not yet in compliance with the Brown Decision of 1954 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Few issues in our time have generated as much heat and confusion as this matter of simple justice: public acknowledgement that every American child, regardless of race, creed or color, has an equal right to the highest standard of education available. There should be no doubts, no resistance, no need for court orders to achieve this basic, democratic goal.

And in many cities where the justice of desegregation was recognized, there were good faith efforts, careful planning, fair and workable procedures—teachers, parents and children were kept informed every step of the way—and the forecasts of turmoil proved groundless.

The problems not only proved surmountable, most didn't even exist, except in the imaginations of the fearful.

In this area, as in the economic area, Franklin D. Roosevelt put his finger on a profound truth when he said, "We have nothing to fear but fear itself."

President Roosevelt didn't tell America to whistle in the dark. He knew that fear is a destructive and dangerous threat to human relations and public order that has to be rooted out and overcome.

Fear caused the outbreaks of violence that have characterized every reactionary attack on desegregation from Little Rock to Louisville and Boston.

Fear of the unknown. Fear on the part of people that they are somehow in some way, being pushed around again. Fear that others are gaining an unfair advantage. Fear arising from ignorance and misunderstanding. Fear exploited and inflamed by those who seek power positions for themselves and who are willing to destroy communities as long as they end up controlling the wreckage.

Let's think back a moment to the Little Rock crisis: It was there that the struggle to desegregate the schools began, and it was there that the eventual outcome of that struggle was decided.

We all remember the films, night-after-night on television, of faces distorted with anger and hate, and the federal troops that were needed to implement the court order.

President Eisenhower didn't shrink from his duty as chief magistrate of the

United States to defend the Constitution and faithfully execute the nation's laws.

The turmoil ended. The schools were desegregated and the Constitution prevailed. And I suspect that the people and the children of Little Rock look back now and wonder what all the excitement was about.

Where are the hot spots today? Certainly not in the South. All the evidence is that the people of the South have resolved not to let themselves and their children be put through more Little Rocks. They looked at the inequities in their own school systems and set about correcting them in a fair and orderly way. There were arguments and debates, but those who tried to whip up discord were playing a losing game. The overwhelming majority of Southern people wanted solutions, not conflict. The process is, of course, not entirely complete, but all over the South solutions are being found. Desegregation of schools is moving ahead. And the South is setting an example the rest of the country should follow.

During the Little Rock troubles and for a long time after, the rest of the country smugly and stupidly marked time. In the North and the border states too many considered racial discrimination exclusively a problem of the South. Many northern liberals flattered themselves that their part of the country was somehow more reasonable, more deeply committed to democratic values, that selfishness and exclusiveness and distrust of strangers ran less deep.

Well, they were wrong. No region has a corner on virtue or goodwill or common sense. There are saints and sinners and peacemakers and mischief-makers everywhere.

And there is discrimination in the North. And the courts have ordered it to be abolished in the schools because it violates the Constitution.

And so, there has been civil disorder and hate in Boston and Louisville that is almost identical to that in Little Rock nearly 20 years ago. Some politicians and candidates have ignored the issue of equal justice and quality education. Demagogues have vented their spleen on busing, as if busing were the real issue.

The facts prove that busing is not the issue.

More than 40 percent of the children of this country ride buses to school every day and only 3 percent do so because of court orders.

American taxpayers spend a billion dollars a year to keep the school buses running. They do it because they want quality education for their children, and they have been consolidating schools and school districts and expanding busing for 50 years with that end in view.

Well, it works. The big yellow buses have improved the quality of education for millions, and there isn't the slightest reason to pretend, suddenly, that school busing is somehow, in itself, harmful or undemocratic.

No, busing is not the issue. The issue is quality education. The issue is the right of every child to have equal access to that quality education.

Ideally that child ought to be able to get quality education in a neighborhood

school. But if the community refuses, if a federal judge finds the Constitution is being violated and orders busing as the only way to obtain that quality education, then there must be busing.

I don't pretend to have any quick solution to the problems of Boston and Louisville.

The judges had no other recourse under the law. They did their duty. It is the communities that failed their obligation: first, to quality education for all; and second, to adequately prepare the people—the parents and children—for the task of living up to the law of the land.

As a result, fear—and the anger and hatred that fear begets—swept those cities. Opportunists and demagogues, who flourish on disorder, rushed to the soap boxes and we all know the results.

But those results could have been avoided. Such tragedies can and must be prevented in the future, by involving the entire community in the search for equity.

In every city where the courts have ordered action to desegregate the schools, the churches, service clubs, civic organizations, civil rights groups and, certainly, the unions, must be mobilized. They must accept responsibility for sharing in the planning of school assignments, bus routes and schedules and all other aspects of a workable desegregation program. They must head off any appearance of gerrymandering or buck-passing aimed at favoring any neighborhood over any other.

Above all, they have to keep their members informed. They have to demonstrate at all times that the contemplated changes are being proposed in good faith. That the aim is to provide the best quality education for all of the children. And that nobody is getting more or less than a fair and just share.

The AFL-CIO is fully committed to help build such bridges and create such forums in the cities where school desegregation is under way. We intend to help, as well, in many other cities, including those in which the courts have not acted. In our view, ensuring justice for school children is a job that should be done willingly and promptly in every community, without waiting for orders.

Union members know, through their experience at the bargaining table, that there are no problems that can't be solved if there is good faith on all sides and if all parties are looking for solutions, not for conflict.

We in the labor movement are determined to find solutions that are just and fair, that meet the constitutional and moral requirements of equality. And I am sure that all the organizations represented in this conference share that determination. We have a big job to do, but, together, we shall overcome.

Thank you, and good luck to you all.

May 19, 1976

APPENDIX D: SELECTED INDIVIDUAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL RESOURCES:

LOCAL COALITION RESOURCES

BUFFALO, NEW YORK 14202
Vincent Bowditch
Buffalo Committee for Quality Integregated Education
c/o NCCJ
235 Statler Hilton Hotel
(716) 853-9596

CLEVELAND, OHIO 44115
Greater Cleveland Project
2330 Euclid Avenue
(216) 621-5925

DALLAS, TEXAS 75202
Paul Geisel
Director, Dallas Alliance
1507 Pacific
Fidelity Union Tower
3rd Floor
(214) 745-1386

DAYTON, OHIO 45402
Robert Kolze
Director, Metropolitan Churches United
212 Belmonte Park East
P.O. Box 3

DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48235
Marcia Pitcole
Coalition for Peaceful Integration
18100 Meyers
(313) 864-8500

William H. O'Brien
(former) Co-Chairperson
PRO Detroit
2216 Commonwealth Building
48226
(313) 963-9535

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA 46208

Thomas J. Weber
Indiana Interreligious Commission on Human Equality
1100 W. 42nd Street
(317) 924-4226

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI 64111

Ashton Stovall
Metropolitan Interchurch Agency
4049 Pennsylvania
Suite 307
(816) 756-1422

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90057

J. Michael Fay
Director, Los Angeles Urban Project
United Teachers of LA
2511 West Third Street
(213) 487-5560

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY 40203

Rev. Thomas Quigley
Task Force for Peaceful Integration
850 South Fourth
(502) 585-4076

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE 38111

Rev. James H. Holmes
(Former) Chairman
Project IMPACT
400 South Highland
(901) 454-0448

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53202

Michele Goldstein
Coalition for Peaceful Schools
1442 Farwell Avenue, Suite 303
(414) 276-9050

OMAHA, NEBRASKA 63105

Kenneth Kershaw
National Conference of Christians & Jews
423 The Center Building
(402) 346-3357

PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND 20785

J. Harrison Ager
(Former) Co-Chairman
Prince George's Coalition for School Desegregation
8812 Sterling Street
Landover, Maryland
(301) 773-6890

Benjamin Winters
(Former) Co-Chairman
Prince George's Coalition for School Desegregation
5804 Dewey Street
Cheverly, Maryland
(301) 773-3663

SYRACUSE, NEW YORK 13210

Rev. Robert Rasberry
The Ad Hoc Caucus on School Integration
c/o Church Women United of New York State, Inc.
3049 Genesee Street

Andrew Willis
Executive Director
The Urban League of Onondaga County, Inc.
100 New Street 13202
(315) 472-6955

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE 19801

David Weber
Delaware Equal Education Process (DEEP) Committee
c/o Urban Coalition of Metropolitan Wilmington, Inc.
407 West 9th Street
(302) 656-9452

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

The Community Relations Service (CRS) helps communities to resolve problems related to discrimination based on race, color, or national origin. It seeks to make available to disputing parties methods and strategies for resolving their differences without having to resort either to litigation or violent and disruptive tactics.

CRS works with organizations, coalitions, schools, and police departments. In scores of communities CRS has...

...provided technical assistance through staff specialists and consultants.
...facilitated exchanges of experience between communities
...provided training for police and school personnel
...helped design police contingency plans and school security plans
...helped structure rumor control and community information centers

CRS accepts requests for help from any party to a dispute or other interested persons. All regional offices are on call 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

The agency has prepared several papers related to issues and activities presented in this report. For instance, through its regional offices, resource materials are available on such subjects as affirmative action, race relations, communication/information, the role of communication in school desegregation, school/community partnership, security provisions, standards and guidelines for rumor control centers, and student discipline codes.

REGIONAL OFFICES:

ATLANTA 30303
Room 900
75 Piedmont Avenue, NE
(404) 526-6883

BOSTON 02114
Room 1304
150 Causeway Street
(617) 223-5170

CHICAGO 60603
Room 1440
55 East Monroe Street
(312) 353-4391

DALLAS 75202
Room 13B-35
Federal Building
1100 Commerce Street
(214) 749-2457

DENVER 80202
4th Floor
1531 Stout Street
(303) 837-2973

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI 64106
Room 121
911 Walnut Street
(816) 374-2022

NEW YORK 10007
Room 3400
U.S. Customs and Court House
26 Federal Plaza
(212) 264-0700

PHILADELPHIA 19106
Room 309
U.S. Customs House
2d and Chestnut Streets
(215) 597-2344

SAN FRANCISCO 94105
Room 703
100 Mission Street
(415) 556-2485

SEATTLE 98104
Room 1898
1915 Second Ave.
(206) 442-4465

NATIONAL CENTER FOR QUALITY INTEGRATED EDUCATION

In August of 1974, a grant from the Ford Foundation to the National Conference of Christians and Jews made possible the establishment of the National Center for Quality Integrated Education. This grant afforded an opportunity to set up an organization which would further new and extended forms of cooperation among national, state, and local organizations to achieve quality integrated education. The aim was to aid these organizations to coordinate and strengthen their programs and activities, to stimulate them to new and increased activities and to give guidance to local organizations in program development and execution.

The goals of the National Center for Quality Integrated Education are as follows:

1. A national mobilization of educational and community groups which will catalyze programmatic efforts and develop action strategies toward the achievement of quality integrated education in the 1970's.
2. Coordination of the activities of existing organizations to increase the effectiveness of cooperative action for change and to minimize duplication of effort.

Since the establishment of the National Center for QIE on September 1, 1974, twenty-seven national groups have joined the Center as cooperative groups. They are:

Alabama League for the Advancement of Education
American Association of School Administrators
American Federation of Teachers
American Jewish Committee
American Jewish Congress
American Library Association
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Association for the Study of Afro-American Life & History, Inc.
ASPIRA of America, Inc.
Ministries in Public Education
NAACP/LDF
National Association of Elementary School Principals
National Child Labor Committee
National Conference of Christians and Jews
National Council for the Social Studies
National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
National Council of Negro Women
National Education Association
National Education Task Force de la Raza
National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students

National Urban Coalition
National Urban League
Rural Education Association
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Southern Regional Council
Student NEA
Young Women's Christian Association of the USA—National Board

The office of the National Center is located at 1201 16th St. N.W., Room 403, Washington, D.C. 20036.

THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The United States Commission on Civil Rights is an independent, bipartisan, factfinding agency established by Congress under the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

Authority: The Commission is authorized to—

. . . Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin; or, in the case of Federal elections, by fraudulent practices.

. . . Study legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or in the administration of justice.

. . . Appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to denials of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or in the administration of justice.

. . . Serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information. Submit reports of its activities, findings, and recommendations to the President and Congress.

REGIONAL OFFICES

Northeastern Regional Office
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
26 Federal Plaza, Rm. 1639
New York, New York 10007
(212) 264-0400

Southern Regional Office
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Citizens Trust Bank Building
75 Piedmont Ave. NE, Rm. 362
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(404) 526-4391

Mid-Atlantic Regional Office
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
2120 L Street NW, Rm. 510
Washington, D.C. 20425
(202) 254-6717

Central States Regional Office
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
219 So. Dearborn St., Rm. 1428
Chicago, Illinois 60604
(312) 353-7371

Central States Regional Office
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Old Federal Office Building
911 Walnut Street, Rm. 3103
Kansas City, Missouri 64106
(816) 374-5253

Southwestern Regional Office
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
New Moore Building
106 Broadway, Room 249
San Antonio, Texas 78205
(512) 225-4764

Mountain States Regional Office
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Ross Building
1726 Champa Street, Room 216
Denver, Colorado 80202
(303) 837-2211

Western Regional Office
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
312 North Spring Street, Room 1015
Los Angeles, California 90012
(213) 688-3437

OFFICE OF EDUCATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

The Office of Education (OE) is a part of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Education Division. Within the Office of Education is the Bureau of School Systems which assists local school districts with problems related to desegregation. The Bureau of School Systems administers both the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) and Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which provides technical assistance awards for general desegregation centers.

Non-profit private agencies, institutions or organizations may apply for ESAA funds to carry out a program in support of the implementation of desegregation plans. For further information regarding eligibility for ESAA grants and the nearest desegregation center, write your Regional Office.

REGIONAL OFFICES:

Correspondence should be addressed to:
ESAA Program Manager
U.S. Office of Education
Equal Educational Opportunity

Region I:
Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont:
John Fitzgerald Kennedy Federal Building
Government Center
Boston, Massachusetts 02203

Region II:
New York, New Jersey, Puerto Rico and Virgin Islands:
Federal Building
26 Federal Plaza
New York, New York 10007

Region III:
Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia and West Virginia:
P.O. Box 13716
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19101

Region IV:
Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee:
50 7th Street N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

Region V:
Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin:
300 South Wacker Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60606

Region VI:
Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas:
1114 Commerce Street
Dallas, Texas 75202

Region VII:
Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, and Nebraska:
New Federal Office Building
601 East 12th Street
Kansas City, Missouri 64106

Region VIII:
Colorado, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming:
1961 Stout Street
Denver, Colorado 80203

Region IX:
Arizona, California, Hawaii and Nevada:
50 Fulton Street, Room 359
San Francisco, California 94102

Region X:
Alaska, Idaho, Oregon and Washington:
Arcade Plaza Building—M/S 1509
1321 Second Avenue
Seattle, Washington 98101